Social Sciences Reference Room

EQUAL RIGHTS

The Library of Congress
Central Serial Record
Received
OCT 20 1941
Copy 1

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 27, No. 10 OCTOBER, 1941

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS · OCT 18 1941 · PERIODICAL DIVISION

Ripples From The Radio

Conversation between Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller and Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa, WINX, October 1, 1941

MRS. MILLER: Good afternoon, Senator Gillette. It is a satisfaction to the women of this nation to realize that you have introduced the Equal Rights Amendment and work constantly in its behalf. This Amendment we believe, is needed to complete our democracy, to bring the Constitution up-to-date, by placing women on the same basis under the Constitution as men. You know, Senator, the wording of our Equal Rights Amendment?

SENATOR GILLETTE: Yes, indeed, Mrs. Miller, I remember it very well and I am happy to remind you that this amendment, in the form of a concurrent resolution, has been favorably reported by the Sub-Judiciary Committees of the House and the Senate. As you know, Senators Bulow, Capper, Nye, Radcliffe and Tydings are co-sponsors with me of this proposal and none of us is ever too busy to do our part for democracy and for the women of this nation. You see, we can scarcely be said to have attained democracy, while one half of our citizens has a different status under the Constitution than the other half.

MRS. MILLER: Yet, there is a widespread opinion, Senator, that the 19th amendment, which gave women votes, equalized our constitutional status with men.

SENATOR GILLETTE: Well that is a natural mistake, I suppose; but after all the 19th Amendment gave women political equality only. It gave them a democratic instrument—the vote—by the proper use of which they could gain their rights, but naturally it did not give them those rights.

MRS. MILLER: The Constitution, as such, does not discriminate against women, does it?

SENATOR GILLETTE: No, Mrs. Miller. The Constitution uses the words "people", "citizens", "persons". The word "male" appears only three times and then not until the 14th Amendment. But the courts have ruled that the Constitution must be interpreted in the light of that English Common Law which prevailed unmodified when the Constitution was adopted. In those days under that common law women had no legal rights to their property, their wages or their children. They had no right of contract nor could they sue or be sued. The Constitution today fails to guarantee them these rights. Indeed, as it stands today, the Constitution preserves and guarantees all the rights that men had gained up to 150 years ago. But, as women had then gained none of the rights I have mentioned, naturally the Constitution does not preserve them.

MRS. MILLER: Senator, that is so clearly put. There is a wide divergence, is there not, between the position of women under the Federal Constitution and our position under the state law? As I understand it, the states have by statute, by law, modified that common law bugaboo and given us women some rights so that many of us own our own property and our wages and are joint guardians of our children.

SENATOR GILLETTE: Yes, Mrs. Miller, the married women's property acts began to appear even before 1848. But those laws are not equivalent to a fundamental guarantee of liberty by the Federal Constitution. Our forefathers were satisfied with nothing short of a Constitutional guarantee because, as they must have foreseen, state legislatures can be whimsical. They can repeal as easily as they can enact and they can be slow about enacting. But a Constitution is not so readily changed. As I have said before, the women of the United States must secure their liberties within our Federal Constitution, before women will have equal citizenship with men. And will you tell me one good reason why the Constitution should not offer our women citizens the same protection it offers men?

MRS. MILLER: I know of no reason; I agree with you. But would you be willing to quote a part of the Constitution which would seem, upon the face of it, to protect women, but which, because of court decisions, does not protect women.

SENATOR GILLETTE: Certainly, Mrs. Miller. As you well know, the 14th Amendment says—

> "nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person in their jurisdiction the equal protection of the law," and the 5th amendment, part of the Bill of Rights, says nor shall any person "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

These two amendments appear to provide protection for all American citizens; but the Courts have ruled against women seeking redress under these sections.

MRS. MILLER: Does it not seem incredible, that women, American women, should be excluded by court interpretation from the very foundation stone of our liberties? Under such conditions we women are exposed to any legislative discrimination that the Congress or that State legislatures may seek to impose. A good legislature, a good Congress, might pass good laws for us and the next legislature and the next Congress might repeal them. We have no permanency, no stability, no surety for our position. It is fantastic, illogical, un-American. Don't you think so, Senator?

SENATOR GILLETTE: Indeed I do, and that is one of my reasons for believing that delay is dangerous. We must pass the Equal Rights Amendment *now*. I have another reason. Oh many, but one I'd like to tell you.

MRS. MILLER: Please let me hear it, Senator.

SENATOR GILLETTE: Well, here we are talking, preaching democracy, but we have left intact over 1,000 common law discriminations against women. We haven't a state in this union where complete legal equality exists for men and women; and in every legislative session of every state, bills appear which threaten women's power to earn, in other words, their life and liberty. In one state it has actually been proposed that discriminations be placed in the state constitution itself. That is dangerous. I don't like to think either of boys or of girls growing up to face difficulties like that. But, Mrs. Miller, do let me have a leaf out of your experience. You must have observed many conditions where, if

(Continued on Page 86)

NATIONAL BIENNIAL CONFERENCE — EASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Wilmington, Del., Hotel Dupont, October 25, 26. (See page 82)

Equal Rights

Official Organ
of the
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Capitol Hill Washington, D. C.
Phone Atlantic 1210

Published Monthly at
144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter at the post-office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $1.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $1.50

MRS. HARVEY W. WILEY . . . . . Editor
DORA G. OGLE . . . . . Business Manager

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
ALMA LUTZ INEZ HAYNES IRWIN
EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN
MIRIAM E. OATMAN, Ph. D.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

Of EQUAL RIGHTS, official organ, National Woman's Party, published monthly at Washington, D. C., and printed at 406 W. Redwood St., Baltimore, Md., for September, 1941.

District of Columbia: ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared Dora G. Ogle, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of EQUAL RIGHTS, official organ, National Woman's Party, Inc., and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, Inc., 144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Editor: Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, 2345 Ashmead Place, Washington, D. C.

Business Manager: Dora G. Ogle, 144 B St. N. E., Washington, D. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

National Executive Council—National officers: Chairman, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.; 1st Vice-Chairman, Jane Norman Smith, Vt.; 2nd Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Amy C. Ransome, Calif.; 3rd Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Margaret C. Williams, Conn.; Treasurer, Miss Laura M. Berrien, Ga; Secretary, Rebekah Greathouse, D. C.; Nina E. Allender, D. C.; Mrs. Lois Buenzli, Pa.; Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.; Alma Lutz, Mass.; Mrs. Burnita Shelton Matthews, D. C.; Perle S. Mesta, Okla.; Mrs. Ethel Ernest Murrell, Fla.; Anita Politzer, S. C.; Dr. Margaret Sebree, D. C.; Alice Paul, D. C., (Ex-officio as Chairman of World Woman's Party).

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). There are none.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is: (This information is required from daily publications only.)

DORA G. OGLE, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1941.

CHAS. E. ALDEN, Notary Public.
(My commission expires September 1, 1942.)

REMINDER

Single rooms at Hotel Dupont with bath at $3.00 a day up; double rooms with bath, $5.00 per day up; Banquet, $1.50; Luncheons, each $1.00. Registration for each Conference, 50c.

National Biennial Conference

Wilmington, Delaware
HOTEL DUPONT
Sunday, October 26, 1941
at 2 P.M.

(This Conference will immediately follow the Eastern Regional Conference which will convene at 10 A. M. Saturday, October 25th, 1941, at the same place.)

DISCUSSION: BRING THE CONSTITUTION UP-TO-DATE BY THE IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

A plan of work, an invincible policy, must grow out of this conference, to which, in accordance with the Constitution, the following Members of the National Woman's Party are hereby summoned:

All Members of the National Council
All Members of Committees, whether National, State, or Local
All Chairmen of Occupational Councils
All Life Members: All Founders
All Sustainers
All Endowers

On all of these Members rests an obligation to attend and confer.

In addition, all Members of the National Woman's Party are welcome and are urged to be present.

State Chairmen are urged to accept the responsibility of

(1) Notifying all eligibles within their respective states and urging attendance.
(2) Collecting all dues and paying into the National Treasury the quota called for by the Constitution.
(3) Coming themselves, with a carefully thought out statement of the most significant contribution made by their State Branch since December, 1940, to the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the next step they intend to take.
(4) Coming prepared to contribute *thought*, ACTION, MONEY to advancing the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Eastern Regional Conference, immediately preceding the National Biennial Conference, will welcome members of the National Biennial Conference to its meetings Saturday and Sunday mornings, to the two luncheons and the Banquet and to the reception at "Nemours" given by Mrs. Alfred I. Dupont for registered members of both Conferences only. Delegates will be welcomed by the Governor of the State and the Mayor of Wilmington. Among the speakers at the luncheon and the banquet will be Senator James H. Hughes, of Delaware, Chairman of the Senate Sub-Judiciary Committee which has favorably reported the Equal Rights Amendment; Mrs. Helen Robbins Bittermann, of Ohio; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles; Senator Harry H. Schwartz, of Wyoming; Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, and Congressman Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Sub-Judiciary Committee, which reported the Equal Rights Amendment favorably, and Mrs. Katherine Harrington of New York, President of the Women's Book Bindery Union, Local 66.

Our Constitution provides that a meeting of the National Council must follow the National Biennial Conference. I therefore call a meeting of the National Council to convene at the Hotel Dupont at 8 p. m. on Sunday, October 26th.

ANNA KELTON WILEY,
National Chairman.

For reservations and information apply to Mrs. Mildred Palmer, Hotel Dupont, Wilmington, Del.

Women And War

The world today is in the throes of a struggle unmatched by any event in history. The great distance toward real equality between the sexes which has been gained during the last few years can be measured by the general attitude toward women in this war. Women are no longer told to stay at home and weep. as they were told a century ago. They are not even told to confine their efforts to nursing, as they were told a few decades ago. They are invited and urged to come into every phase of war activity, except the actual fighting and in some instances not even that exception is made.

This is not a plea for war. No social-minded person can doubt that a society in which wars did not occur would be better, other things being equal, than one where they did occur. But we have not yet achieved a society without war. And since we believe that every social responsibility ought to be shared by every normal adult member of society, we hold that war is not the business of men alone; it is the business of men and women. In this view all the world now seems to concur, to a greater or less extent.

Our information is most detailed in respect to British women. A thrilling article in *Life*, August 4, 1941, says that 2,000,000 British women fill jobs, due to the war, in the Women's Royal Naval Service, the Auxiliary Territorial Service, the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, Air Raid Precautions workers, Auxiliary Fire Service, nursing, ambulance and charitable organizations, Women's Voluntary Service for relief, in the trade unions, on the farms and on railways and buses.

Praise For British Women

In "Bulletins from Britain" Supplement for April 30, 1941, is to be found the following:

> "Women have already made a great contribution to Britain's war effort. They have stuck to their benches while the bombers roared overhead. They strove in the heat of summer to replace the equipment lost in France and Belgium. They have kept homes going while forcing up industrial production. Generally indistinguishable from their fellow citizens and marked by no special uniform, these factory workers have played a very striking part in Britain's war effort."
>
> "They are to be joined by many more in the near future. Some will come from factories which will be closing down others from homes which have often enough been broken up by their men folk being called up or the evacuation of their children. Sometimes they will be leaving their home towns to get work. But, wherever they are and whatever they are doing, they will stand behind the men with the tanks and aeroplanes which they have made. On them as much as on those who wield the weapons of war will depend the fate of civilization."

In the American Magazine for October, 1941, in an article entitled "Women Man the Guns" it is stated that the British women now participate in actual warfare in full military equality with men. Their most conspicuous function is in the artillery service, where they operate the instruments which aim the anti-aircraft guns.

The article states that the combat jobs now given to women have developed out of the way women have faced danger in the auxiliary military services and in the fire protection and ambulance services. The women's jobs include convoy driving, mechanical care of planes and daily work at sea in the Women's Royal Naval Service.

Shall we who believe in equal rights rejoice that women are at war? We repeat: "No, for war is a disaster." But we do rejoice that even from this calamity good will come—the good of a free womanhood, the good of a free world.

MIRIAM E. OATMAN, Ph.D.

Women Lawyers' Convention

The annual convention of the National Association of Women Lawyers held in Indianapolis, Sept. 26-28, was the largest in its history. It will be recalled that this association has long stood for equal application of labor legislation, irrespective of sex, and is one of the sixteen national organizations sponsoring the Equal Rights Amendment.

A party of five, including Miss Helen E. Jamison, V. P. of the N. A. W. L. for the D. C.; Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Miss Helen Smith, Miss Lillian Blaisdell and myself, drove to Indianapolis. Hoosier hospitality was cordial and fine, one supper being served in the Abe Martin (Kin Hubbard) Log Cabin in Brown County State Park. The meetings were held in the lovely Columbia Club, facing the beautiful monument commemorating all Indiana's heroes from earliest times.

Many interesting reports were read and enjoyed. My report, as Chairman of the Equal Rights Committee, was presented Sunday afternoon, at a late hour. The four favorable happenings of the past year were reported—the almost simultaneous favorable reports by the two Sub-Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress, of the joint resolutions referring the Equal Rights Amendment to the states for ratification; the rejection by both Houses of Congress of the mandatory joint income tax returns for married couples and the favorable action of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment for the third time.

The Sunday afternoon session was presided over by Judge Anna M. Kross, of the City Magistrates Courts, New York City. When the meeting was nearly at its end Miss Frances Spooner, Chairman of Resolutions, made her report. An effort was made to secure the endorsement of S. J. Res. 72, a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution, providing only a few specified rights for women. It was moved and seconded that this resolution be tabled. The vote for tabling was 25 for, 18 against. Fearing the delegates did not understand the measure on which they were voting, Judge Kross called for a re-vote on this resolution to endorse S. J. Res. 72. The re-vote for tabling was 29 for tabling and 21 against. As the convention was about to close, Judge Kross, still anxious to give the minority every opportunity to be heard, sent for Mrs. Grace H. Harte, who it is claimed authored S. J. Res. 72, and Miss Frances Spooner, Chairman of Resolutions, who had left the room, and asked if they wished to take the motion off the table. This they voted to do. As the hour was late and the annual banquet fast approaching, the motion was made to recess the Convention until after the banquet and then to resume the discussion.

(Continued on Page 87)

"Independent Woman"

The "Independent Woman," official organ of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., had, in the September issue, two unusually stimulating articles: First, "Congress upholds Woman's Rights," by Alice Manning, and second, a discussion of "Woman's Role in the World," by Mahatma Gandhi and Pearl Buck. Miss Buck again reminds America, as she does in her book "Of Men and Women,"

> "The average American Woman ought now to be awakened, stimulated and urged—frightened, if need be—into becoming aware of herself and of what she has allowed the world to become because she has not stayed a part of the life of the world as it went out of the home."

Chinese Women And The War

Extracts From Article By King-chau Mui, Chinese Consul General In Honolulu

WHEN the work of Chinese women in the present war in the Orient is spoken of, one immediately thinks of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, one of the Soong sisters. Much has been written in American magazines about this illustrious trio who are composed of Madame H. H. Kung, wife of the vice-president of the Executive Yuan; Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the Chinese republic, and last, and the most brilliant of the three, Madame Chiang.

A woman of tremendous energy, Madame Chiang has done more than any other member of her sex during the grave crisis. A moving spirit in war relief work, especially among women's organizations, she also directs the New Life movement. For a time she was secretary general of the Air Commission, a post no other woman in any country has held. Whether she accompanies the Generalissimo in an inspection tour of the front or whether she acts as his liaison in the drawing room with foreign correspondents or diplomats, she has constantly stood beside him to share the burdens of war. In the winter of 1936 when the Generalissimo was detained in Sian, she risked her life by flying to the northwest to negotiate for the release of her husband. * * *

In a sense Madame Chiang and the Soong sisters are typical of women in China. The average mothers and wives in China are the same as in other lands—intensely interested in their own families. They are much less interested in problems of state. In this respect Chinese women are unlike their sisters in some western countries like the United States. They do not have newspapers and magazines to keep them informed and even if they did they would not be able to read them because most of the women in China are illiterate. They love and hate and suffer in the same way as women anywhere. They react in the same way against those who destroy their homes, kill their husbands or brothers and humiliate them and their sisters.

It is recognized, of course, that the attitude toward women in present day China is far different from that of yesterday. Gone is the woman with small bound feet and delicate body, incapable of anything except to adorn the inner chamber. So much progress has been made in the last 50 years or so in the emancipation of Chinese womanhood that it is possible to produce such leaders as the Soong sisters. The war has hastened the emergence of Chinese women to a position of usefulness in the community and the nation and to a basis of equality with men. It has flung them a challenge and an opportunity for service and they are meeting it successfully.

Government positions of all ranks are open to women and indeed, women are found in every government organization. In the people's political council consisting of leaders from every walk of life there are 10 women members. At the start of the war there were only two publications exclusively for women. Today magazines published for women number more than 50.

At present there are 317 women's organizations engaged in war work in 21 provinces. This means that they are operating not only in free China but also in territory occupied by the Japanese. The women's war relief association has 35 branches in the country. This organization is international in scope, having also nine branches in other parts of the world where Chinese women are congregated.

It would be incorrect to say that all the women in China or even half of them are mobilized for the purpose of carrying on the war. In a country where illiteracy is high and where communication facilities are so inadequate this work is extremely difficult. It requires time. But as the war continues, more women are participating in national salvation. The government carries on this mobilization work so that before long most women will be contributing their part to strengthen the country's defense against the enemy. At present all the wives of government officials are organized in different corps to carry on war work.

Now as to the kind of work Chinese women are called upon to do during the war: First, like the men they are asked to contribute in goods and cash to the war chest, the relief of the wounded or refugees. And whether it is the peasant woman who contributes her coppers brought in by the eggs she sells, or the professor's wife who sends in more substantial amounts from her jewelry, the Chinese women have responded liberally. * * *

An example of how women served the country in an emergency was afforded by the appeal for clothing in 1938. As the winter approached it was found necessary to provide warm clothing for 2,000,000 troops. It appeared to be an insuperable task. Chinese industry, situated mainly in the coastal areas, had been destroyed by the war and the few factories in the Wuhan area were being evacuated farther into the interior, as the Japanese were then driving toward Hankow. In September, Madame Chiang turned to the women of the country. She sent out an SOS call for 2,000,000 padded garments for the soldiers. The response was immediate. By October 10, the anniversary of the Chinese Republic, one million of the needed garments were sent in and the second million were ready by the end of the month. Among the contributions came 100,000 lamb skins from far off Tibet, the gift of Mrs. Ma Pu-fang, wife of the governor of Chinghai province.

Many of us have seen pictures from England showing British women driving ambulances. For several years Chinese women have been doing this type of work, although instead of being ambulance drivers, they have been mere stretcher bearers. This work has generally been done by men, but many women have also done their part in carrying the wounded to receiving stations and hospitals.

In general Chinese women have done about the same thing that women in other countries have in war time. But because of local conditions they have also accomplished things which women elsewhere have not been called upon to do. Many young women are serving as nurses and dressers and many write letters for the wounded. In some cases they have served in teaching the wounded to read and write.

While the men are fighting at the front, Chinese women have gone about collecting funds and goods for the war or for relief. They have been very successful in selling war defense bonds. They have rolled bandages, knitted sweaters and made blankets for the soldiers.

Society women and wives of high officials have gone to the front and hospitals to bear gifts for the fighting men and to cheer and comfort them. Women entertain the soldiers, and have gone to the front to wash and mend.

We Chinese are proud of the part our women have played in the war. People outside of China have paid tribute to them. Last summer under the leadership of Pearl Buck, a group of American women presented to Madame Chiang the "Book of Hope" which contained the names of hundreds of outstanding American women. With it came a gift of $90,000 contributed by the signers of the book. * * *

(Printed by permission of CHINA MONTHLY, Vol. II, No. 9, Sept., 1941.)

What I Like About Women

Extracts from article by Clare Boothe, the author of the stage and screen success, "The Women"

IT IS well-known that I dislike some women. Dislike is too mild a word. I despise some women:

Loose-tongued, birdseed-brained, jealous women, who never feel set up until they've got some other woman down.

Lazy, lolling, self-centered women, who are "absolutely exhausted" by an afternoon of shopping, or an hour at the hairdresser's.

Women who call every lack of self-control "self-expression."

Greedy, selfish women who conceive their primary function to be mink-bearing, not child-bearing; who define "security" as rings on their fingers and bonds in the bank, failing to see that the only secure woman is the woman who has forged unbreakable bonds of understanding and loyalty with her husband, her children, her friends.

Women who demand both their rights as equals with men, and their privileges as the weaker sex.

Whiny, tearful, self-pitying women, more concerned with their own headaches or backaches (imaginary or real, what's the difference?) than they are with the heartbreak of this world.

Above all, I despise women who, prattling incessantly of love, do not know the word's meaning. In Chinese the word "love" is made up of the characters for "heart" and "gift." In China there is no misunderstanding: Love—the gift of one's *heart*. *Giving* not *getting*.

Such women as I have described are calamities to their families, bores to their friends, and a burden to the nation. They are the weak, frayed threads in the fabric of society. I will continue to satirize and revile them so long as it interests me to do so. But it no longer interests me! In these dark days, these women are already doomed. Spinning like whirling dervishes around the centers of their own outrageously silly little egos, they will soon drop exhausted to the ground, while the world tramples over them, or at best, ignores them.

The Valiant Sex

I prefer now to think about, talk about, write about, women I like:

Gentle and valiant women, tender and compassionate women, brave and patient women, women who are those rarest and most effective of combinations in the world, at once hard and good, inflexible and sympathetic, loyal and open-minded, capable of cheerful sacrifice.

And there are, thank heavens, so many, many more of such women than the other kinds. Today, one sees millions of them.

I say today, for this is the splendid thing about women: sorrow and hardship, danger and crisis bring out the best in women. At precisely the point where men begin to disintegrate morally and emotionally, women most often pull themselves together—and in so doing pull the men with them. The disciples in His darkest, finest hour, deserted Jesus. His womenfolk took Him down, buried Him. And the two Marys, in the days that followed, rallied the wavering disciples.

The very conditions which tend to brutalize men, such as poverty, or war, evoke the true spirituality of women. Always, in the fearful hours of history when men—all the stupid statesmen, all the bloodthirsty warriors, all the confused politicians, and, alas, the muddle-headed and indifferent breadwinners—begin to plunge the world, their children's world, once more into bloodshed and hopeless chaos, women begin to reverse the process.

Then all their virtues, so unspectacular in peace and prosperity, become spectacular. A war no sooner breaks than women demonstrate their true function in society, to bring order out of chaos, kindness out of cruelty, love out of hate—in short to keep firm the very foundations of society. At the very moment when men devote all their energies to inventing new ways to let blood, destroy homes, make orphans, women throw their whole minds and souls into the job of staunching wounds, providing food and shelter for the dispossessed and mothers for lost children. And in doing this great job, we see at once that women know more about free, democratic co-operation than men will ever learn, unless they learn from women.

Eager For Service

There is never any need to conscript nurses as there is soldiers. Where the need is, there they are. Women are sometimes confused, as they are in America today, as to what precisely they might or should do, to make the war less onerous and cruel for their men and to hasten the day of peace for their children, but when they are told, or discover for themselves, they are there to do it, willing and ready, without complaint, without coercion.

In civilian ranks it is always the women of the country who first accept and then seek to cope with the bitter realities of poverty or war. Since this second world war began two years ago, almost the entire burden of European war relief has been voluntarily shouldered and handled by women. Always cajoling or dragooning the men, they've staged most of the benefits, solicited, and given most of the money and materials, run to a prodigious extent this Christian show while the men have been intent on their bloody and barbarous one. * * *

Their consistent aim is to render the tragic lot of mankind not more, but less tragic. All criticisms of women as a sex pale beside this incontrovertible knowledge we have of them: women are the constructive sex. They are therefore the *rational* sex. Women know that there is no *rational* way of dealing with people except with love, and no rational foundation for society except love. If women were like men, really like men in their brains and hearts, the human race would have slaughtered itself off the face of the earth thousands of years ago.

So, let the men, if they wish, boast of Churchill. The spirit of Florence Nightingale made and will keep England stronger. (English women today are a race of Florence Nightingales!)

Take that extraordinary married team: Free China's leaders, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his American-educated wife, May-ling Chiang. History may quarrel for a hundred years with the Generalissimo's politics and campaigns. It will never quarrel with the acts and accomplishments of May-ling Chiang. Her war orphanages, her medical, nursing, dietary, teaching, religious, women's corps have saved more lives than the Japanese bullets have taken. The Generalissimo's job is to keep China fighting. Madame Chiang Kai-shek's job is to keep China praying, loving, hoping, eating, *living* . . .

Should Madame Chiang fail on her job, the Generalissimo's might well be in vain. Should the Generalissimo fail, Madame Chiang's will still bear good fruits and pay dividends to China for a hundred years.

In dealing with the war problems of China, Madame Chiang has devised a unique plan. Whenever the Generalissimo makes an appointment, political or military, Madame Chiang asks that appointee's wife to give reasons why she also should not serve her country, heart by shoulder with her husband. If good reasons of health or heavy family obligations are not forthcoming, then the wife is given an appointed job in one of Madame Chiang's war or social service organizations. * * *

I like women because, by and large, they are so much more honest and straightforward, and therefore easier to understand, than men. Women sometimes fool men, who are easily and eagerly fooled, not only by women but by each other. But women are seldom fooled by men, except by choice, and *never* by women. Women can't and don't try to fool one another. * * *

A *woman's* hopes, aims ambitions, desires, goals and *modus operandi* are apparent at once to anyone who is not purblind. Let me spend an hour with a woman in her home, and I will tell you whether her ambition is for her husband, her children or herself, whether that ambition is a material one, or a spiritual one, whether she is prepared to make any sacrifice for it. Her home advertises these for all the world to see. For she, generally speaking, creates her home. * * *

Never, Never Doubt Them

So, as I say, I like women because they are, most of them, constructive, and most of them honest. And I like American women better than the women of any other land. Although they are more spoiled (and, let us face it, the really spoiled ones are the worst spoiled in the world), they have still left in abundant quantities the virtues of the pioneer and immigrant women who made this land. They are more jealous of the well-being and the freedom of their menfolks and children than European women. And they have the physical and moral courage to fight for what they are jealous of. Never doubt that the great-great-granddaughters of those pioneer women who beat out the flames of their burning homes with the bloody shirts of their husbands and began to build on the ruins before they stopped smoldering, and the granddaughters of immigrant mothers who braved hardship and suffering on great oceans, sacrificing the dark security of an old world for the bright insecurity of the new one—never, never doubt that *they* will show, in the dark days which are coming upon us, as staunch spirits and as iron nerves, as the women of any other wartorn land today.

When American women have fully sensed the danger to their homes; and fully imagined the suffering and sorrow which only women's hands, women's minds, women's hearts, and women's courage can comfort and in the end cure—when they do, they will move, organize and function so much more efficiently and effectively in their self-appointed roles than men do, it will make you quite dizzy.

Printed by permission of THIS WEEK Magazine of the New York Herald Tribune, August 31, 1941, Copyright, 1941, Clare Boothe.

Ripples From The Radio

(Continued from Front Page)

the Equal Rights Amendment had been enacted, we would have been spared grave injustices.

MRS. MILLER: I can think of many. But perhaps the working out of the curfew law in one of our states best proves our point. Of course, since the Federal Constitution does not guarantee women the equal protection of the law, laws affecting women only, can be constitutionally passed by our state legislatures and are frequently passed. Some of these legislatures have passed laws forbidding women to work from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M. These have been called curfew laws. In one of these states, Connecticut, there was a woman's band. It was a good band and always employed. Other bands, not so good, were not employed as constantly. What to do? Well, instead of trying to improve their musicianship and compete on fair terms, the men went crying for help to the State Commissioner of Labor. He remembered the curfew law. The competitor bands invoked it and 750 women entertainers lost their jobs on New Year's Eve.

SENATOR GILLETTE: But how un-American that was, Mrs. Miller.

MRS. MILLER: Yes, indeed, Senator. And people are now beginning to realize that the Equal Rights Amendment expresses the best American thought of today and that in some respects the court decisions relative to women are merely preserving the thought of past generations, now outmoded. The Constitution is crying out to be brought up to date. We've outgrown the antiquated English Common Law which gave no thought to women as people and which is still the standard by which the Constitution is interpreted.

SENATOR GILLETTE: True, Mrs. Miller, and the Equal Rights Amendment would bring the Constitution up to date and correct those inequitable conditions you have been describing.

MRS. MILLER: Do you not think it significant when we find one of our state industrial commissioners urging women to work for an eight hour law for men, because she says, when such a law applies to women only, the women lose their jobs. I know an excellent illustration. Have you time to hear it?

SENATOR GILLETTE: Do tell me, Mrs. Miller.

MRS. MILLER: Well it is the story of an elevator operator, a woman, in California, who had been paid less than the legal minimum wage for women only, over a period of years. Her friends employed an attorney. The case was tried and she collected her back pay. But the next day her job was given to a man who could legally work for the lower wage which she had been receiving. So you see, these laws for women *only*, depress wages for men as well as for women. They hurt men as much as they hurt women and they tend to lower the standard of both.

SENATOR GILLETTE: If the Equal Rights Amendment had been adopted, that minimum wage would have applied to elevator operators, irrespective of sex, and the man could not have undercut her.

MRS. MILLER" Senator, may I ask you what effect you believe the recent Supreme Court decision relative to the Fair Labor Standards Act will have on the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment?

SENATOR GILLETTE: Do you mean that case where the Court said that the maximum hour laws and the minimum wage laws may constitutionally be applied to workers irrespective of sex?

MRS. MILLER: Yes, Senator.

SENATOR GILLETTE: I am glad you raised that point, because unlike the State laws you have been illustrating, the Fair Labor Standards Act applies to all workers in inter-state commerce, irrespective of sex. Men and women doing the same work draw the same pay and work the same number of hours, and the Supreme Court has held this to be Constitutional. This supercedes the former position that minimum wage and maximum hour laws could not be applied to men because such laws infringed their freedom of contract guaranteed by the Constitution, but could be applied to women because, as we have said before, the Constitution does not guarantee women freedom of contract. Many splendid people really believe that women would lose by the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment because since 8-hour laws could not be applied to men, equality would be achieved by taking them away from women. But now that this decision of the Supreme Court of Feb. 3, 1941, gives constitutionality to such laws for men, there is no argument against the amendment either theoretically or practically.

MRS. MILLER: That reminds me, Senator, our party, the Democratic Party, passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, didn't it? And the Republicans adopted the Equal Rights plank in their 1940 platform?

SENATOR GILLETTE: Yes, Mrs. Miller, and therefore it might be said that there are no party lines in regard to the Equal Rights Amendment. The Republicans have declared for it in their national platform. The Democrats have passed legislation which the Courts have interpreted as wiping out the only objection to it. Therefore both parties are united on this measure which is so important to complete our Democracy and to bring our Constitution up to date. Its very words are an inspiration! They are the quintessence of our American standard! They belong in our Constitution, the bulwark of our liberties! Let me, in closing, quote them again, "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'"

Pilot International

From the *Pilot International*, one of the 16 national organizations endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment, comes this welcome letter to the Editor of EQUAL RIGHTS:

> "May we take this opportunity to tell you how very much we enjoy each issue of your magazine. You have been on our exchange list for our official publication, *The Pilot Log*, for the past two years, and we trust you have been receiving it . . . *Pilot* is celebrating the 20th Anniversary of its founding here in Macon, October 18th, and this is a personal invitation for you to attend the celebration to be staged in Macon."

Since the Editor of EQUAL RIGHTS is unable to accept Mrs. Helen Hunt West, former editor and now Congressional Chairman, State of Florida, has been appointed as her representative.

Pennsylvania

An organization meeting for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, was held at the home of Dr. Ruth Deeter on September 24th. The officers elected were Dr. Ruth Deeter, Chairman; Mrs. Charles B. Wise, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Nettie Dumm, Secretary, and Mrs. Warren Lyme, Treasurer. The speakers included Mrs. Elizabeth Hatfield Schnabel, Chairman, Pennsylvania Branch, with which the new Harrisburg Branch is affiliated; Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic National Committee Woman, and Mrs. Harvey F. Smith of Harrisburg.

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, long an advocate of Woman Suffrage and Equal Rights, joined the National Woman's Party at the Harrisburg meeting.

The meeting was preceded by a luncheon in honor of the out-of-town speakers.

Pennsylvania Advocate

From the Honorable Richard J. Beamish, Commissioner of the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission, comes this endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment:

"Of course women should have equal rights with men throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. There is no justice in a situation which denies to women legal rights enjoyed by men.

"Nothing is so corrosive to the spirit of human beings as the knowledge that they are compelled to endure injustice."

MARGARET WOOD PATTERSON,
Organization Chairman, Pennsylvania Branch, National Woman's Party.

Women Lawyers' Convention

(Continued from Page 83)

Following the banquet, at the hour of 10:30, the convention reconvened to discuss and again vote on the motion to endorse S. J. Res. 72. Immediately, Miss Frances Spooner, Chairman of Resolutions, withdrew the motion and proposed another, namely, that in the next Journal of the Association an opportunity be given for the entire membership of 850 women lawyers to vote on the question: (1) The Equal Rights Amendment (Miss Laura Berrien to write a 200-word article); (2) The Lucas amendment, S. J. Res. 72, which gives women a few specified rights only (Mrs. Grace H. Harte to write a 200-word article); (3) To object to both with a 200-word article. The motion provided that members can tear this sheet from the Journal, fill in their votes and mail to the Editor, who will classify the votes and print the result in the succeeding issue of the Journal. This vote for a referendum of the question to the entire membership carried by a vote of 43 to 11.

The N. A. W. L. is still on record for the Equal Rights Amendment as before and an opportunity for a full discussion of the entire question is in prospect, many voting for the motion for the referendum who are in favor of complete equality of opportunity between men and women.

The retiring president of the N. A. W. L., Mrs. Florence Thacker, of Indianapolis, made an able and successful executive, and the newly elected president, Mrs. Gertrude Harris, of Atlanta, Georgia, is also Chairman of Legislation of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, and recently acted as Chairman of Resolutions at the Business and Professional Women's Convention at Los Angeles, Cal.

Before closing this report I must make mention of the notable speech made by Col. O. R. McGuire, who made a plea for the greater participation of women in government and closed his remarks by saying "A better world awaits the day when women shall take a more active part."

LAURA M. BERRIEN.

Forgotten Women

Frieda Miller, as Chairman of the Committee on Discrimination in Employment of the New York State Council of National Defense, has been sending a form letter to journalists and others who help mold public opinion, urging them to do their part to preserve democratic principles and practices in employment in the national defense industries.

"Employment practices," she says, "must conform to the democratic principle of equality of opportunity, must be free of discrimination *because of race, color, creed, or national extraction.* Such discrimination deprives our defense effort of needed workers, is a contradiction of our democratic way of life." (Italics ours.)

Why omit women from the list of those discriminated against? Is discrimination against women in employment more in accord with our democratic principles than discrimination because of "race, color, creed, or national extraction?" Or are women again forgetting themselves as they did after the Civil War when the phrase was "race, color, or previous condition of servitude?" Then discrimination because of sex was pushed into the corner, and women stepped aside so that the Negro might be enfranchised before them.

Unless women are alert, the same kind of thing will happen again, and attention will be focused on the so-called more important discriminations "because of race, color, creed, or national extraction."

The Bookshelf

My Dear Lady, The Story of Anna Ella Carroll, The Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet. **By Marjorie Barstow Greenbie. Whittlesey House, New York, 1940.**

This book proves that being a woman was no handicap in rendering valuable service in wartime, even in 1861-65, but that it was a very decided handicap when it came to receiving recognition by Congress and in recorded history. Women of today, take notice.

Ever since I first read about Anna Ella Carroll in the ponderous volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage,* I have wanted to know more about her. Now I rejoice over Mrs. Greenbie's interesting biography of this remarkable woman. She has done a beautiful piece of research for which we as women should be very grateful. Readers of EQUAL RIGHTS must not miss it.

Anna Ella Carroll, of Maryland, working with her father in his law office, absorbed both law and politics. When family fortunes began to fail, she went to Washington, where she was well known socially, and set up a public relations service for businessmen, wrote pamphlets and reports, lobbied, took part behind the scenes and with her pamphlets in political campaigns, and made herself generally indispensable. All this she did with the perfect social grace of a Southern belle.

In the critical days when Southern states were seceding, she saved Maryland for the Union. She worked closely with Lincoln preparing for him a pamphlet on his constitutional powers in wartime. When the prospects for Northern victory were at their lowest ebb, she planned the campaign which, when finally undertaken, won the war. She recognized Grant's ability, and Grant recognized the value of her plan, and after many delays because of the ego and blindness of military men higher up, he put it through bit by bit.

Because Anna Ella Carroll was a woman, her part in military operations was kept secret during the war for the sake of public morale, but she was to have been given public recognition after the war, but Lincoln's assassination brought more pressing matters to the fore, and she was forgotten in the troubled days of the reconstruction in spite of the efforts of a few loyal men who understood and appreciated the importance of her work for her country.

In 1885 the Court of Claims reported that there were two obstacles to the immediate and unanimous passage of an act of Congress in recognition of and adequate compensation for the patriotic services and successful military strategy of Miss Carroll in the Civil War—"that military men are jealous of all outside interference" and "the misfortune or disability over which Miss Carroll has no control, namely, that she is a woman."

ALMA LUTZ.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day

November 12, 1941

New York, Pennsylvania and other states are sending in word about preparations for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Birthday Celebration.

At Headquarters in Washington they hope to be able to open the Feminist Library in the lovely old Coach House, on that day. Florence Bayard Hilles, as chairman of the Library Committee, has undertaken to put the Coach House in condition as a repository for the Belmont Collection and any other contributions that will come in from time to time. The work has started, shelves are being built and in a few weeks all will be completed.

Mrs. Daniels, Chairman of Celebrations, is already laying her plans for the opening of the Library on Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day, November 12.

All members from near and far are invited to attend.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

PROTECTION FOR ALL WORKERS

MASSACHUSETTS has been congratulating itself on its recent minimum-wage order for women and minors in restaurants. It is the second state in the East to "protect" its women waitresses in this fashion and its wage rates are higher than those in any other state. It is estimated that 60,000 waitresses will be affected by this order and it is assumed that life will be much brighter for them from now on.

On the surface this all sounds very altruistic, but there is one very big flaw in the law. It should have been written to include men. There are many men working as waiters and as kitchen helpers in restaurants and they work long hours for low wages. They need this same protection.

Unless all workers, men as well as women, are affected by the law, there is a loophole for employers. They can employ men at a lower wage. Many employers prefer to hire women because they are cleaner and more adept at handling food. But with food prices rising and the margin of profit shrinking, many of them will be looking for a chance to cut costs. They will find that they can hire men among the foreign-born and Negroes cheaper than they can hire women. Some of them will declare that men waiters make the place swankier anyway and will pretend that they are making a change for that reason.

So some of the waitresses who dreamed of higher wages will be out of a job. It may not be quite so hard on them in these times when there are defense jobs in factories available, but perhaps their home conditions are such that they cannot move to a factory town. In any case the time will come when a waitress's job will look very good to them and they will find that the waiter will get the first chance at the job.

This is no criticism of minimum-wage laws in principle—merely a criticism of our stupid application of them. All minimum-wage laws, in fact all labor laws, should be aplied to the business or the industry. In the past we have been very much afraid of regulating business and industry. It has seemed so much easier to regulate women. Social workers and philanthropists have congratulated themselves on improving labor conditions for at least a small section of our workers and have assured us that this is a step-by-step process—women and children first. And so business has had one last chance to escape.

But now with the Fair Labor Standards Act in effect in interstate industries for men, women, and children, with no distinction as to the sex of the worker and with the policy of equal pay for equal work, there is no longer any excuse for piecemeal legislation or labor legislation on the basis of sex in the states.

The time has come for social workers, welfare organizations, and labor unions to prove that they meant what they said when they advocated labor legislation for women and children first and later for men, and to recognize that the time is ripe for Fair Labor Standards Acts in all the states. When they make this mental adjustment, they will no longer fear the Equal Rights Amendment and think up reasons for opposing it, but they will see that the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment will be the first step and the most powerful influence in bringing about Fair Labor Standards Acts for men, women, and children in the states.

Sue Brobst

Several years ago, the National Woman's Party faced a serious threat to its program of equality. Support from all sections of the country was needed quickly. An eastern member called Los Angeles. A voice, drugged with sleep, answered, for the difference in time had been overlooked. It was six a. m. in Los Angeles. But that meant nothing to Sue Brobst—for it was she. She did what was asked of her and more. Her recent passing robbed us of an ardent worker for the Equal Rights Amendment, a feminist who subordinated herself to the cause. She was gentle, quiet, likeable. What she accomplished cannot be measured in words. She founded the Business Women's Legislative Council of California; she joined the Woman's Party; she became Equal Rights Chairman for the California Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; she won many women's organizations and many thousands of individuals to support the Amendment. California legislators and Congressmen espoused it because of her intelligent and sincere persuasion. Generous, able, indefatigable and loyal, true pioneer for equality, with the passing of Sue Brobst the National Woman's Party has lost one of its best.

MILDRED PALMER.

Paul J. Simmen

Paul J. Simmen died July 1, 1941, in Eden, N. Y. There in the garden of the home he loved so well, the funeral services were conducted. The casket was placed under a canopy of roses. Here the friends and neighbors gathered in a beautiful setting of trees and flowers, to pay a last tribute to him who had so endeared himself to his fellow men that by young and old alike he was affectionately called "P. J." The National Woman's Party was represented by Edith Ainge, Helen Smith and Laura Berrien.

Mr. Simmen and his devoted wife, Marie F. Simmen, shared all interests—business, home, travel and Equal Rights. They came together to the National Woman's Party conventions; they passed parts of each year at Alva Belmont House; often Mr. Simmen, sitting in the meetings, would say: "I can't vote at this meeting, but I will give you a contribution." Appropriately the honorary pallbearers were men and women.

Mr. Simmen, born in Switzerland, the son of a Swiss engineer, came to this country when a child. He was one of the greatest inventors of the country, having more than a hundred patented devices on thousands of miles of railroad tract and large bridges. They include automatic cab signals, the remote control switch, centralized traffic control and automatic speed control.

The brilliance of his inventive mind, the wideness of his general knowledge and the bigness of his heart made him the great person he was.

LAURA M. BERRIEN.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Any member or friend of the National Woman's Party having copies of the hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment before the Sub-Judiciary Committee of the Senate in 1924 and 1925 and the Sub-Judiciary Committee of the House in 1925 and willing to part with them for the purpose of completing the records of the National office, please mail them immediately to Mrs. George Mesta, Chairman Congressional Committee, National Woman's Party, 144 B Street, Northeast, Washington, D. C.

! ATTENTION SUBSCRIBERS !

Our mailing privileges require subscriptions to be paid in advance. Please note on your wrapper the expiration date of your subscription. If your date predates October, 1941, you are in arrears. Will you send us your subscription so that we do not have to remove your name from the mailing list?